DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 312 031 PS 018 069

AUTHOR Packer, Martin J.; Richardson, Ellen
TITLE Strategies of Social Entry among Preschool Children.
PUB DATE Apr 89
NOTE 19p.; Paper presented at the National Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (Kansas City, MO, April 27-30, 1989).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Audiotape Recordings; Behavior Problems; *Data Analysis; Interpersonal Competence; Kindergarten Children; Microcomputers; Play; Preschool Children; *Rejection (Psychology); *Research Methodology; *Social Behavior; *Speech Acts; Videotape Recordings
IDENTIFIERS *Entry Behavior

ABSTRACT

Data from studies of social entry and social rejection among preschool children were used in this discussion of the systematic use of videotaped records to answer questions about preschool children and the appropriate kind of analysis to employ with the social exchanges recorded. Collected materials were organized in a text-oriented relational database. An attempt was made to avoid the replacement of raw data with coding categories by labeling each recorded interaction with tags by which the material could be easily retrieved. A morphology coding approach was used to maintain comparability with other studies. Also used was an analytic approach that assumed that social interaction involves interpersonal movements that cause changes in participants' status, intimacy, and openness. The analysis revealed aspects of the organization of social behavior. Appended to the text are reproductions of a playground episode screen in the database, a chart of the organization of the database, and examples of interactions revealing movements of high status, shared outrage, ambivalent response to others' approaches, successful entry leading to rejection, and other dimensions of the children's social interaction. (RH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ED312031

Strategies of Social Entry among Preschool Children

Martin J. Packer

and

Ellen Richardson

Division of Social and Cultural Studies
Graduate School of Education, Tolman Hall
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720

(415) 642-7127

(Packer@garnet.Berkeley.EDU)

Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development
1855 Folsom Street, San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 565-3000

Paper presented at the biennial meeting of
the Society for Research in Child Development,
Kansas City, April 1989

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Martin Packer

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PS 018069

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Strategies of Social Entry among Preschool Children

I'm going to talk today about work we've been doing to study social entry and social rejection among preschoolers. Let me start by painting with broad brush strokes what our study is about. Our attention has been on the ways that children interact together on the playground, and how this leads to high or low popularity by the end of the year. For the past two years we've had close contact with two cohorts of children in a preschool kindergarten class. We've sat with them at circle time, talked with them while they worked and played, accompanied them on picnics and fieldtrips. We've used a sociometric technique to ask them about their choices among peers, asking them to pick who they do and do not like to play with, from photos of their classmates. We've also set up analogue entry tasks, asked them to draw their family, and had parents and teachers complete some instruments.

We've also videotaped interaction on the playground. These children spend an hour outside each day (and in Northern California that means virtually every day: only once in two years did we find ice on the playground; and the recent California drought has kept down the number of rainy days). Three times during the year each of the children wore this little T-shirt, which has a wireless microphone sewn into it. The microphone transmits to a receiver attached to the videocamera, and in this way we've been able to share vicariously in the social world of each of the children. It's this material I want to focus on today.

Using these techniques we've been working to acquire an understanding of the children's social activities, of the motivations at work in their choices of playmate, of the concerns and issues in their lives, and of the kinds of incidents that occur as they play and interact together. I've developed a great respect for the range and depth of issues that these young children had to deal with, and an appreciation of both their sensitivity and, more rarely, their cruelty when faced with some of these issues.

We've been faced, of course, with the question of how best to take our videotaped records and use them systematically, to answer questions about individual children, about the class as a whole, about the timecourse of an hour of play, about subgroups like boys and girls? I want to discuss two things we've done: The first is to do with the handling of material; the second concerns the appropriate kind of analysis to employ with social exchanges of this type.

Handling Material: the Database.

Elinor Ochs pointed out some years ago that transcribing involves theory. The structure one employs to record ones material reflects both explicit and tacit theoretical assumptions, and casts some of them in concrete. So we put a lot of thought into the organization of the material we were collecting. Our decision was to employ a text-oriented relational database. Figure 1 is an example of a screen from this database, one of several into which we can transcribe directly while watching the videotape. This screen records a single episode of playground interaction, usually an episode that begins with a child's approach to another child or a group, and a bid for entry. But we also transcribe episodes of rejection, of conflict, and we can add any further kinds of episode as they come to seem significant. As text is transcribed into the screen, the database fields expand dynamically, so that a single screen can efficiently hold almost unlimited text.

Notice also that this screen is linked to others. Not all the information you see has to be input each time. Once an item such as the child's name has been entered this screen can refer to other files in order to look up that child's date of birth, and it can calculate her age on the day this tape was made. This ability to link files containing different kinds of data is what makes the database relational; the next transparency shows just some of the files and links our database now contains. What we have here is a computerized version of ethnographic notecards, with all the advantages that the computer brings.

As I said the structure you see here embodies some theoretical decisions about the data.

For example, we've decided that for our purposes episodes of interaction can be distinguished fairly clearly; so a screen is an episode; each record in the data file is an episode. But at the same time we've left ourselves a lot of flexibility. New fields can be added at any time, as we spot new things to attend to. And this reflects our view that analysis of social interaction is progressive; that new categories will emerge as analysis proceeds.

Tagging, not Coding.

This is the gimmicky part of what I have to tell you. But once we've got the material transcribed, what do we do with it? Our overarching concern here has been NOT to code the data, in the following sense. In most analyses the coding categories replace the material that has been collected. An interaction between two children will be coded as a particular kind of bid, an invitation say, and that code would then move forward into the analysis process: to be counted, along with others of its type; to be sequenced with those preceding and following it; its rate of occurrence calculated, and so on.

Instead, we wanted to use labels like "invitation" as tags, as handles to the material, not codes to replace it. Once an interaction is tagged as an invitation, the tag becomes a way to retrieve the material for further examination. This is another reason for using a database like this: the transcribed record of each episode can be retrieved at any time. It is not replaced by the code, but labeled. New, alternative labels can be added, old ones changed if they come to seem incorrect. Different invitations can be retrieved and their transcripts compared, and so finer distinctions can become apparent to us. Finally, tags can also be used to select episode transcripts for a report.

Okay, but that still leaves open the question of the kind of tags that it would be appropriate to use? The study of children's entry bids has moved out of the laboratory, and away from the analog task, into natural settings. But the kind of coding scheme used is largely unchanged. It is what David Forbes has called a "morphology" coding; it deals with what is essentially the static form of an act: whether it is an invitation, a request..... Studies of entry are not alone in this; the majority of naturalistic studies of children -- ethological studies, for instance -- employ coding schemes that focus on the bare outlines of an act, the features that are unchanged as the act is removed from the context provided by the people who are acting together, and the character of their relationship to one another.

We have used a morphology coding, to maintain comparability with other studies, but we also wanted to employ an analysis that would reflect the view that exchanges such as this have a textual structure to them. Now what does that mean?

Let me switch for a moment to a more straightforward case. A number of people have been rethinking our approach to the analysis of interviews. Elliot Mishler is one person who has pointed out that we've tended to see interviews either as stimulus-response sequences, or as information-gathering exercises. Both of these ignore the dialog, the interaction, the relationship, in the interview. Mishler and others (like Margaret Honey) have argued that an interview is first of all a narrative, one that makes reference to a world, that is spoken to the interviewer as a specific individual who has established, or perhaps more often failed to establish, a particular kind of relationship with the respondent. It is a story told for a specific kind of effect, not just information spewed forth.

This leads Mishler to emphasize the importance of background understanding in reading, understanding, and analyzing interview material. When we code an interview this background is covered up, he says. So when I say that there is a textual structure to action also, I mean that the actions that make up a social exchange are directed towards a specific other, in a shared setting that provides context, to achieve certain effects. One way to capture these characteristics is to treat social actions as symbolic movements between people.

We've been conducting an analysis that is based upon the view that social interaction involves interpersonal movements of three different kinds. One source of this notion is Joe de Rivera's fascinating phenomenological analysis of emotions. Joe's insight has been to interpret emotions not as mental states, not as individual phenomena, but as intentional and dyadic, as essentially dynamic movements between people, between subject and object.

In Figure 2 you can see the three different kinds of movement we've been looking at: movements that bring about changes in status, intimacy, and openness. The first involves changes in a child's standing with respect to the other: her social significance and importance; her status or rank. The second involves changes in the degree and kind of closeness and involvement between children. The third concerns changes in the acknowledgement given to another child's projects and concerns, or the lack of such acknowledgement. These aren't the terms de Rivera uses: but Joe's terms are at the bottom of the page here: Recognition, Belonging, Being.

A second example of these movements is provided by Carol Gilligan's work on the moral voices of care and justice. In Gilligan's view, these two voices articulate dimensions of social interaction that correspond to what we're calling intimacy and status. Several asides are worth making here: First, when you put these terms side by side, as you see them here, there's a suggestion that a third moral voice may be discernible, one that articulates interpersonal movements of Openness. As soon as I have some spare time, that is something I want to explore further. Second, Carol Gilligan has recently forged a conceptual link between use of these two moral perspectives and early childhood attachment relations. That is one reason we're trying to assess the kindergarten children's attachments, from the parents' perspective by using Everett Water's Attachment Q-Sort, and from the child's perspective by using an analysis of the drawings of their families, an analysis developed by Nancy Kaplan and Mary Main. Third, if you look at coding schemes for children's behavior with this scheme in mind, most of them attend primarily to the status dimension. I think this reflects the assumption that it is a struggle for status, for supremacy and leadership, that drives groups of children as it apparently drives troops of chimpanzees. I've come to believe that such an assumption is incorrect. Even when leadership becomes an issue, it is not always obtained by status movements, ironically. (I'm thinking of one popular boy who related to his gang-members in a chummy way, with much caring and solicitude.)

Movements versus other entry coding.

So we've looked at entry bids, at occasions when one child approaches another, with an eye to the shifts in Status, Intimacy and Openness. One way to think about this is in terms of the way a child "presents," or represents, herself in her approach to a peer. How does she try to "move" the other child? In a moment I'll give you some examples of what I mean. But first, it may be helpful to outline some of the differences between our movement analysis and a morphology coding. First, morphology codes can obscure the different uses of a speech act. A request, or an invitation, can accomplish very different social ends depending on the manner in which it is made, and the circumstances in which it is used. We'll see an example of this shortly. Second, and conversely, there are relationships among different kinds of entry bid that are not represented, at least explicitly, by a morphology coding. Movements of high status can be accomplished in different ways: with certain kinds of request, by a directive, by giving information. Third, movement analysis cannot be carried out on an action in isolation. To identify the movement accomplished in an action requires knowledge of the current setting of activity, and an understanding of the way things are done on the playground. An act can be coded as a request or a command on the basis of its apparent form, its surface features. But the movement that's going on depends on how the act fits or breaks with tacit assumptions, peer group conventions, about what is appropriate, what is normal and acceptable, on the playground.

Sometimes these background assumptions become visible in the event itself, if a child points out a transgression, perhaps by threatening to tell the teacher. More often our awareness of the tacit conventions that develop among peers comes from our familiarity with the individual

children and with the ways they work and play together.

This means that we cannot even pretend to be able to give operational definitions of movements, so that they can be identified in a straightforward way by naive viewers. With morphology codes people have been able to give definitions that seem, at least, to make reference only to objective features of an utterance or behavior (though I suspect that even then this appearance is illusory). For movements we could never list all the relevant assumptions about playground activity that the children might make reference to in their entry bids. What we have to do is develop the ability, simply through familiarity with the children and the setting, to recognize examples of different kinds of movement when they occur. Here you can see a parallel with Mishler's point about analysis of interviews. In both cases background understanding must be brought to bear.

An Example: Ann.

If movements are best understood by looking at concrete examples, then the best strategy for me to adopt now is to draw your attention to the details of a case. The excerpts that I will show you -- and there are more in the handout -- are taken from the second and third videos of a girl named Ann. Ann is interesting for a couple of reasons. When we interacted with her, as adults, she seemed a competent, bright, cheerful child. But watching her on the playground it became clear that her peers didn't have the same view. She was alone for much of the time, despite making frequent approaches to other children.

Second, although her bids varied in their morphology, Ann was quite consistent in the kind of interpersonal movement with which she approached others. She gave invitations, offered information, appealed for help, issued directives, suggested play roles: all these are typical morphology codes. But on the majority of these occasions, she presented herself as having a higher status than the child she was approaching. For example, the transcription Tape 2, Episode #2 shows an exchange between Ann and Rebecca. Ann begins by commenting on Rebecca's call to the teacher, in a judgmental tone, and then she proposes a new joint activity. She says:

"Want to make something really neat with me?"

Now in terms of its morphology this is an "invitation," but that designation captures only the surface form, the syntax, and not what Ann is doing with her invitation. The implication is that she's giving Rebecca a chance to do something special. Her tone of voice and gestures contribute to a sense that Rebecca should feel honored to be given such an opportunity.

Ann did this quite consistently; presenting herself as more important, as doing something more special, than the children she approached. She often invited a child to "help" her; to be her assistant. Not surprisingly such bids for entry were not effective; many children ignored her or moved quickly away.

But Ann usually didn't alter her approach when it didn't work. In this case, when the invitation doesn't work, Ann doesn't modify it; she repeats it, first to Rebecca then, when she leaves, to a teacher.

Even on the few occasions when she did vary her approach the Status dimension continued to dominate. For instance in Episode #29 she approached a boy who was one of the most popular children in the class - John. At first she told him what to do, but then, as this episode begins, she inverted her approach, and flattered him: presenting herself as lower in status. Even this proved unsuccessful. Here she is using a low status movement instead of the usual high Status approach. But Status is still the salient dimension to her bid.

In all these bids Ann seemed genuinely trying to get involved with others. So we found it particularly interesting that when another child approached her, Ann usually responded with

ambivalence. She would first back off, sometimes angrily, sometimes defensively, and only then make a move of approach herself. Often it was already too late, and the approaching child had left. The increase in Intimacy initiated by another child's approach seemed to disturb and threaten her, and she would try to regain the initiative by rejecting the overture so she could make a bid of her own. Several times she seemed almost to struggle to undo the effects of her own initial negative reaction.

Even when one of her bids was accepted, things didn't go smoothly for Ann. There's a sequence of episodes (Tape 3, Episode #25 - #40) that shows what happened when she did manage to join the play of a group of girls. I don't have time to go into the details, but things ended disastrously for her; she insisted on telling everyone else what to do, changing the rules of the game unilaterally, and complaining when her turn was skipped. Her peers became furious at her, and they finally stalked off, leaving her alone, angry and upset.

Not all, though. Sometimes a successful entry bid threw light on Ann view of the world. Tape 2, Episode #15 is an exchange with Julius, where she enlists his aid after her sandcastle is kicked down by a kid running by. They share the view that this was a "meano" thing to do.

How is all this reflected in Ann's sociometric standing? A look at the number of children who nominated her positively and negatively -- Figure 4 -- on four occasions over the year shows that she became increasingly unpopular. I've shown John's scores for comparison.

I've described several phenomena that show up in the organization of Ann's social actions: their temporal organization, and their common movement. But how do these phenomena interrelate? What could explain high status entry bids, the ambivalent response to others' approaches, and other things I haven't time to describe here, such as an angry criticism of others' "mean" action. I don't think we have a final answer to this question yet. One suggestion is provided by Ann's family drawing [Figure 5]. In terms of the Kaplan and Main analysis this is the drawing of a child whose attachment relationship is of the insecure, ambivalent type, and with their parents such a child, at around Ann's age, is often demanding, controlling and immature in an effort to get attention. Ann certainly seeks attention from her peers, not by acting immaturely but by speaking with what we might call an authoritarian voice, perhaps a parental voice. One possibility is that with her peers she takes on the adult end of her relationship with one or other of her parents.

I don't believe this is a final explanation, but I am convinced that any intervention aimed at making Ann's life a little easier would not gain much by teaching her new social skills. There's an organization to social action -- in Ann's case it's a dysfunctional organization -- that isn't addressed by social skills training.

To conclude: I've explained briefly what has motivated us to move from a morphology coding of children's entry bids to an analysis of the changes in their relationships that these bids bring about; where we look at bids as attempts to establish relationships of a particular kind. This analysis shows up phenomena in the organization and patterning of social behavior. There are consistencies in interpersonal movement that cut across variations in the morphology of the bids used. I like to think that we're making some progress in charting the pathways that children follow that lead to their being rejected or accepted among their peers.

Figure 1: The Playground Episode Screen in the Database

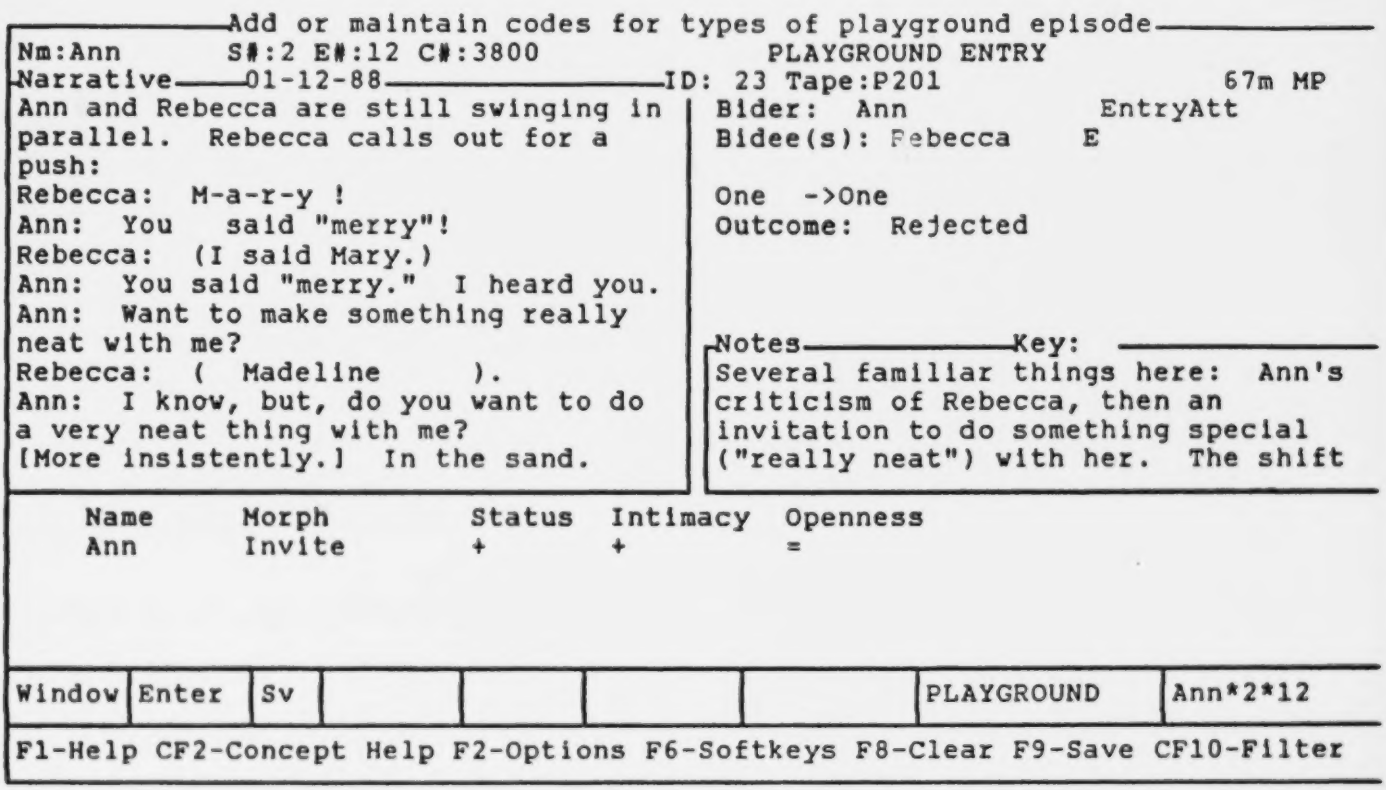

Add or maintain codes for types of playground episode
Nm:Ann S#:2 E#:12 C#:3800
PLAYGROUND ENTRY
Narrative 01-12-88 ID: 23 Tape:P201 67m MP
Ann and Rebecca are still swinging in parallel. Rebecca calls out for a push:
Rebecca: M-a-r-y !
Ann: You said "merry"!
Rebecca: (I said Mary.)
Ann: You said "merry." I heard you.
Ann: Want to make something really neat with me?
Rebecca: (Madeline).
Ann: I know, but, do you want to do a very neat thing with me?
[More insistently.] In the sand.
Bider: Ann EntryAtt
Bidee(s): Rebecca E
One ->One
Outcome: Rejected
Notes Key:
Several familiar things here: Ann's criticism of Rebecca, then an invitation to do something special ("really neat") with her. The shift
Name Morph Status Intimacy Openness
Ann Invite + + =
Window Enter Sv PLAYGROUND Ann*2*12
F1-Help CF2-Concept Help F2-Options F6-Softkeys F8-Clear F9-Save CF10-Filter

Figure 2: Organization of the Database

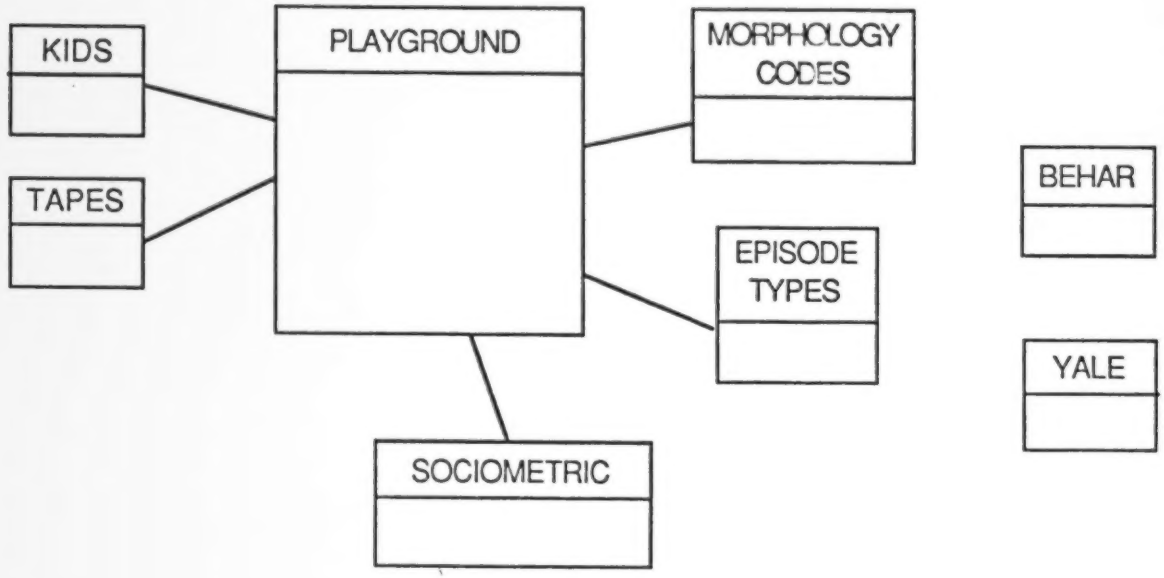
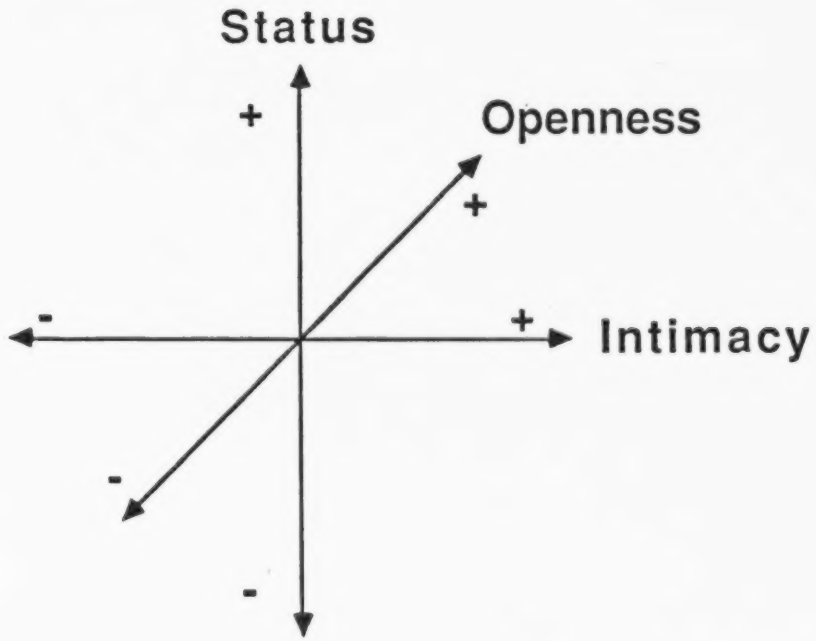


Figure 3: Interpersonal Movements



	DE RIVERA	GILLIGAN
Status	Recognition	Justice
Intimacy	Belonging	Care
Openness	Being	?

Movements of High Status

Tape 2, Episode #12 Counter: 3800

Ann and Rebecca are side by side on the swings. Rebecca calls out for a push:
Rebecca: M-a-r-y !
Ann: You said "merry"!
Rebecca: (I said Mary.)
Ann: You said "merry." I heard you. Want to make something really neat with me?
Rebecca: (Madeline).
Ann: I know, but, do you want to do a very neat thing with me? *[More insistently.]* In the sand.
Rebecca: ( ) *[Unenthusiastically.]*
Ann: Do you want to make a very neat thing with me?
Rebecca: (I have to). *[She gets off her swing and leaves.]*
Ann: *[To a teacher standing nearby.]* Madeline, do you want to make a very neat thing with me, in the sand?
Madeline: ( ) *[Ann's face falls]*
Ann: Do you want to make a very neat thing with me in the sand. *[With less enthusiasm. Madeline doesn't respond.]* Do you want to make a very neat thing with me in the sand. *[Still no response. Ann waits a moment, then gets up and goes over to Madeline.]*
Ann: Do you want to do a very neat thing in the sand?
Madeline: Eh, yeah, yeah. I'd like to see it.
Ann starts to rake in the sand in front of Madeline.

Tape 2, Episode #14, Counter: 3976

Ann turns to talk to a boy and girl (from another class) on the swings behind her. This is the first contact with them.
Ann: Do you guys know what a shift is?
Others: ( )
Ann: I know, but do you guys know what a shift is?
Others: (don't know)
Ann: Well, it's something that is in the car, and you move it if you want to turn somewhere. And it's called a shift.
No reply. Ann returns to her castle.

Tape 2, Episode #32 Counter: 4550

Ann: *[Shouting.]* John! I found Indian clay! *[John doesn't reply. Ann frowns, then heads over towards Mimi, a teacher, who is talking with another boy about the plaster cast on his leg. A group of children and teachers surround them.]*
Ann: Mimi! Indian clay!
[Mimi continues talking to Aaron.]
Ann: Look, Indian clay. Indian clay.
Mimi: Oh! Emily would like to see that. *[Emily is Ann's aunt. Ann walks away, looking dissatisfied with this reaction to her find. She walks back towards the swings, where John is still sitting.]*
Ann: John, here's the Indian clay.
John: Bury it back up. The teacher said so.
[Ann looks stunned. She moves away and leans against the frame of the swing. She glances towards John, then stares out across the

playground. Then she looks down at the clay in her hands. She is still for some time. Then she sprinkles sand again over her castle. She turns towards John.]

Ann: John! Know what... I'm throwing sand on top of the castle because it's snowing, it's winter.

[John stares at her, but says nothing.]

Shared Outrage with Julius

Tape 2, Episode #15 Counter: 4040

A boy from another class runs through Ann's sand castle, kicking it down. Ann looks up with a furious frown. Julius had been passing by. He sees the accident, and frowns after the boy. He and Ann look at each other.

Ann: Want to help me build it back?

Julius: Ye-ah. *[He kneels]* That was one mean person!

Ann: Yeah.

Ann: Yeah. Yeah, now get this a wall, okay. *[Commanding]* I didn't want it to wreck. I just, I did very hard work to build this. *[Angrily, patting the sand loudly in emphasis.]*

Julius: Yeah.

Ann: Meano. That's a meano, isn't it?

Julius: Yeah. That's a meano.

Ann: That's really mean guy. He just wrecked over this. Shannon was being really nice to me. He was looking where he was going, and he watched out, and he walked over this. That's what Shannon did. Now that was very mean. He knocked over this. Very meano, wasn't it?

Julius: Right. *[He stands up, preparing to leave.]*

Ann: He stepped right here.

Julius: Yes.

[Julius goes over to one of the swings. Ann continues with her castle.]

Tape 2, Episode #16, Counter: 4130

Ann: Julius! Julius, I want to do something else. Do you want to help me with something else?

Ann picks up a rake. Julius, on the swing, doesn't respond.

Ann: I am dumb! Now I'm dumb. Look what I did! *[She has knocked down part of the castle]*

Ambivalent Response to Others' Approaches

Tape 2, Episode #17, Counter: 4165

Ann is raking the sand. Max comes up and stops close by, watching what she is doing.

Ann: Max, can you not step on this. *[With a pouty frown.]*

Max: *[Almost falling over in anxiety, as he backs up]* I'm not gonna. (I'm just looking)

Ann: Did you see this part? Look at this part. That's the pool. And this is a path. If you want to walk around the water and wade.

But Max has wandered off.

Tape 2, Episode #26 Counter: 4379

Rebecca comes up.
Rebecca: Can I help? Ann, can I help you?
Ann: *[Leaping up]* I'm already done. You can build another one right here. You can build another one right here. *[More insistently, as Rebecca moves away.]*
Rebecca: ( ) *Ann follows Rebecca across the playground.*

Tape 2, Episode #28 Counter: 4403

Ann: John! When you walk around... John!
John: What?
Ann: When you walk around here be careful to not step around here because, because, I, that's what I just built.
Mimi *[Teacher]*: It's kinda a hard place to put it, isn't it Ann. That's where everybody walks to the swing. It's really nice. But it might be a hard place to keep it.
John kneels down to do repair work.
Ann: Just make a wall. Just make a wall right there like I did.
Rebecca is standing waiting nearby. Ann and John talk about the castle. But John leaves shortly afterwards.

Flattery of John

Tape 2, Episode #29 Counter: 4475

John is on the swing. Ann looks thoughtfully at him. She calls out.
Ann: John. You did a perfect job on that wall.
No reply. Ann looks around the playground, then crawls forward. She knocks the sand-castle.
Ann: John, now I wrecked it, right here! I wrecked that.
[No reply.]

Successful Entry, leading to Rejection

Tape 3, Episode #25 Counter: 2280

Ann is on the grass. She has taken her shoes off, after watching a group of girls playing on the grass. Andrea comes up.
Andrea: Ann maybe we should put our shoes in a line! Do you want to.
Ann: Uhhuh. Put your shoe next right here, put your shoe right there. *[i.e., next to Ann's shoe. But Andrea has moved away. Then she comes back, picks up Ann's shoe, and removes it. Ann takes off her other shoe, goes to put it down, notices the first has gone, and goes over to Andrea, who's with Calen & Sarah.]*
Ann: Put my shoe right here.
?: Well I was putting my shoe right there.
Ann: I want my shoes like this. Let's put 'em all like this.
[etc.]

Tape 3, Episode #26 Counter: 2346

Ann: Pretend this is our gymnastics class, right? *[Cici, Laurie, Andrea, Rebecca have been playing for a while on the grass. Ann is*

ignored]
Ann: Well, real gynastics people don't-real gynastics- real gynastics people leave their socks on, right?
Calen: Yeah. Know what?
Ann: *[interrupting]* do not take off the socks right?
Calen: I go to gynastics class.
Ann: *[interrupting]* That's how you know, right?
Andrea: You can take off your socks. Take off your socks.
Ann: No! I don't have to. Real gynastics people don't take off their socks. They leave them on, right Calen?
Calen: Real gynastics people leave their socks on.

Tape 3, Episode #27 Counter: 2420

Arielle: I've found a hoop.
Ann: I've a good idea, one person holds a hoop and the other person jumps into it. *[She demonstrates]*
Arielle: No! We're just having the hoop ( ). *[She and Andrea carry off their hoop. Ann stands. She holds the hoop for Cici.]*
Cici: (I'll jump in) *[She jumps in.]*
Ann: Good. Now higher.
Andrea: Can I jump in?
Ann: No, everybody has to get in a line, to do this. *[Andrea, Cici, Sarah, Arielle line up. Andrea jumps.]*
Ann: Good. Now you have to go to the end of the line.
Arielle?: How about whoever jumps it its their turn to hold it?
Ann: Yeah. That's right. So it's your turn to hold it. *[To Andrea]*
Ann: Calen, you have to get after me. Calen, Calen, whoever jumps in gets to hold it, after they jump in. *[Calen ignores her]*
[Etc.]

Tape 3, Episode #28 Counter: 2510

Arielle jumps into the hoop.
Arielle: I jumped in it really high!
Ann: It's your turn to hold it. *[She turns to Andrea, who is stroking her hair.]* Stop, stop, stop! Now. I would like all you to stand back while I jump into it.
Calen walks up, and raises the hoop, which Arielle now holds.
Calen: This high!
Ann: No, no, no, Calen. It's my turn. You have to go to the end of the line. *[To Arielle]* Lower, lower. Yeah, that's enough. Just a little bit- no, a little bit- yeah, like that. *[Ann jumps but gets only one leg in the hoop.]*
Ann: Whoever does it and gets just one leg in or- or gets no legs in gets another turn, right? *[Arielle raises the hoop from the ground, and Ann jumps again, this time with success. She jumps out and goes towards the end of the line.]*
??: Ann it's your turn to hold it!
Ann: Yeah. *[She returns, to hold the hoop]*

Tape 3, Episode #29 Counter: 2560

Ann is at the end of the line.
Ann: This is gynastics class. *[To teacher?]* Calen wants to leave- whoever wants to leave has to be sick. Whoever leaves- Calen I

want to tell you something. Whoever leaves has to be sick, okay? Whoever leaves has to be sick, sick, sick.
Calen: Sick.
Ann: Whoever leaves has to be sick. Hey, you guys. Everybody listen to me. Whoever leaves- *[Shouting]*
Arielle: Before you do that we're gonna do whatever we want and we're not gonna do just this and if we leave doing this we're not gonna be sick. *[She interrupts Ann, shouting her down. Ann is silent. She turns meekly back into the line. Her turn is next. She seems subdued]*

Tape 3, Episode #30 Counter: 2610

It's Ann's turn to jump. Andrea holds the hoop.
Ann: A little lower. *[She jumps but gets only one leg in.]* Wait. Whoever jumps in with just one leg gets another turn. Can you keep your head down.
Andrea: You're scared to jump in.
Ann: No I'm not.
Andrea: You're scared... ( )
Ann: A little lower. *[Talking over her.]*
Andrea:...every time you jump in you always get one foot. *[She drops the hoop and walks away. Ann picks it up and turns to Arielle.]*
Ann: Would you hold it? Andrea doesn't want to. A little lower. *[She jumps in, then out. Again she has to be reminded that it's her turn to hold the hoop.]*

Tape 3, Episode #31 Counter: 2640

By asking Arielle to hold the hoop Ann has confused the turn taking. Now Ann holds the hoop for Arielle, and Sarah thinks she's missed her turn. She tries to push in front of Arielle.
Sarah: I (wasn't) in front.
Arielle: Sarah!
Sarah: Well you just (got it) Arielle.
[She turns and walks away. Arielle jumps in and out. Cici comes up.]
Cici: My turn.
Ann: (No, you turn) to hold it. *[Holding the hoop up so Cici can't jump in.]*
Arielle: *[To Cici]* Sarah was right there. *[Ann grabs Cici, restraining her]*
Ann: Sarah was right in front of you.
[Sarah takes her turn.]

Tape 3, Episode #37 Counter: 2800

There's squabbling over whose turn is next. Cici goes through w. Ann and Arielle holding the hoop. Arielle asks Rebecca to hold it.
Arielle: Can you hold this; Rebecca can you hold this? *[But Cici comes around for a second turn! Ann stops her.]*
Ann: Okay it's my turn, it's my turn.
Arielle: No it's my turn. *[etc.]*
?: Arielle's turn!
Ann: Then it is my turn after you!
Mimi: Ooh, rough talking!
Ann: *[Calmer]* It's my turn after you, okay, Arielle. *[The play resumes]*

Tape 3, Episode #38 Counter: 2855

Cici: Now its my turn.
Ann: No! It's Arielle's turn! *[Angrily]*
Cici: No, it's my turn!
Arielle: It's Cici's turn. *[All three are tugging on the hoop]*
Ann: Then it's gonna be my turn. *[Immediately adapting to the consensus]*

Tape 3, Episode #39 Counter: 2870

Ann: Okay, it's Arielles's turn! *[As Andrea ducks through the hoop the wrong way!]*
Laurie: I didn't get a turn. *[Pouty]*
Ann: It's Arielle's turn, and then it's (it's me).
Laurie: No.
Ann: I didn't even get a turn!
Arielle: It's Laurie's turn.
Ann: Well I ASKED FIRST!! I'm telling! *[She stomps her foot and goes over to Madeline]* You know what? I already asked first, um, and Laurie just came along and asked and then Arielle said that Laurie's after her because I asked first.
Madeline: Arielle, what's happening? Was Ann next? *[Arielle dives through the hoop!]*
Ann: After you; I was, I was, after Arielle. *[The girls ignore both Ann and Madeline!]*
Madeline: Stand here and then you'll be next. *[Rebecca objects.]* No, Ann was next. We just discussed it.
[Andrea holds the hoop. Arielle is still going through the hoop!]
Madeline: Arielle, please be fair with turns, okay? Arielle? *[Ann stands watching. Rebecca, Andrea and Arielle are fooling with the hoop, having fun and excluding Ann. Finally it seems to be Ann's turn, and she asks for the hoop to be lower. Andrea raises it high in the air!]*
Ann: Touching the grass. Lower, lower!
[She pulls it down, catching Andrea's head. Andrea flings the hoop down in anger.]
Ann: One person can do it! Will you hold that side? *[Rebecca drops the other side of the hoop, too.]*
Cici: No. *[The hoop is on the ground]*
Ann: I'm not gonna play!! Two people have to hold it! *[Cici picks up the hoop and walks away with it! Rebecca, Laurie and Andrea follow. Ann is left, hands folded in anger.]*

Tape 3, Episode #40 Counter: 2985

Ann has just been excluded by Laurie, Andrea, Rebecca and Cici.
Ann: I'm not going to be your friend, Cici! *[She walks away, then turns back to get her shoes, and walks sadly to the edge of the grass, where she puts them on. The others are still playing together.]*

Figure 4: Sociometric Status

Ann: Sociometric Nominations

F	W	Sp	Su
3	2	3	1
2	1	2	5

John: Sociometric Nominations

F	W	Sp	Su
9	9	10	7
0	2	1	0

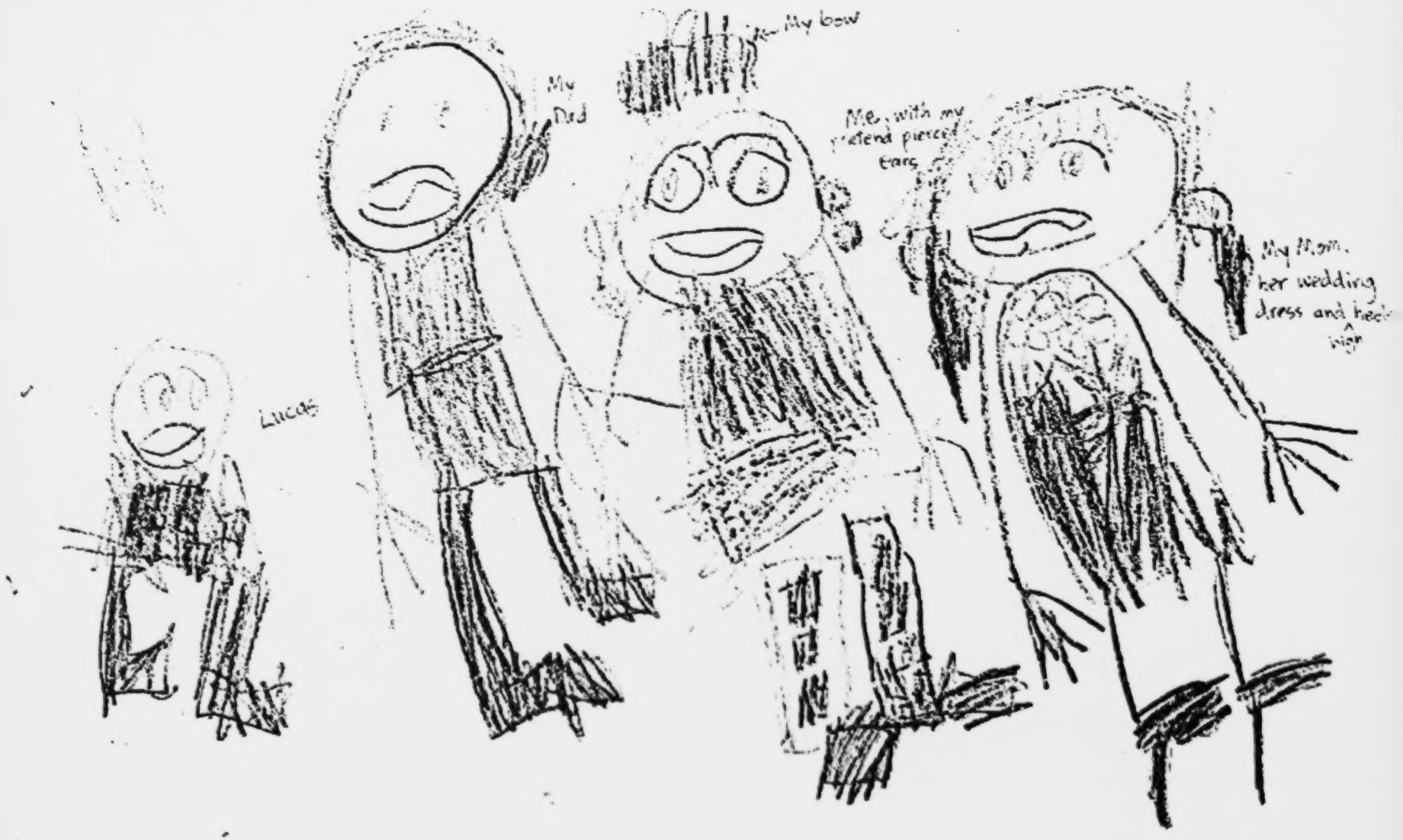


Figure 5: Ann's Family Drawing